2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

If she was widowed, her husband's house was torn down and she lived with one of the sons. The most responsible of the latter then headed the family group and she, like the daughters accepted his decisions. When informant 26 was married against her will her mother took her side but "could say nothing against the men" her son and cousin. Again the difference in sex, which is marked in Papago life, is only partially expressed in the terms. 593 562

STEP PARENT CLASS. The step parent is assumed to be the junior aunt or uncle and is called by that term while he uses the reciprocal. Step parents are received very easily into the family. If not actually relatives, real or classificatory, they are still treated as such and given the corresponding place in the family group. 593

UNCLE CLASS. Tradition picked out the senior uncle as a special guide and mentor. The ceremonial guardian of a man undergoing purification called his protegé by the same term as would a senior paternal uncle or aunt and in rituals where the raingods are represented as addressing human beings, they also use the term. It would seem to point toward a specially protective attitude of the senior uncle and perhaps to his being chosen as a ceremonial godfather. At present there is no such practice nor remembrance of it. Behavior toward the senior uncle, who may once have been a godfather, and the junior uncle, who might be a stepfather, show the same intimate respect and if a maternal uncle or a distant uncle happened to join the family group, this behavior would be extended to him also (I. 4. B. and C; I. 1. F). 604

All uncles felt it their duty to admonish a child. "When I am with my uncle he always talks serious, telling me how to behave," (27). "If an uncle is left alone with a boy, of course he preaches to him. That is what he has to do" (22). "In the old days, people knew what was right because, besides their fathers, they had all their uncles to talk to them" (5). 604 867

An uncle took this leading position even if he was no older than his nephews. I. 8. E. 1 had nephews even older than himself but acted always as their head and protector. He looked after their cattle when he was six and they ten. When his older siblings went to cactus camp, he was the one left at home to take care of their children. He arranged the chores for his nephews and stopped their quarrels by a mere command. His status continued into adult life. 604

The same obligations might fall to a maternal uncle or to a distant uncle if he happened to form part of the family group. I. 8. E. 1 arranged a marriage for his classificatory niece with a man as old as himself and this man has respectfully taken his orders ever since.

Nephews owed an uncle help and support almost as if he were a

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

604 father. The younger brother of informant 22 lived permanently with an uncle who had no son to tend his field and had commandeered a nephew. If an uncle, for some reason, had no land, he assumed the right to share that of nephews or nieces on either side of the house (I. 1. F; I. 6. D. 3; I. 5. E. 1). An aged uncle, with no near relatives would expect to be cared for by a nephew or niece. Informant 22 lives with his younger sister's daughter part of the time and part with a female cousin, exact relationship unknown.

On the other hand, a nephew could expect support and help from an uncle almost as from a father. If his parents died, he naturally entered the house of one of his uncles in the same family group. Even when adult, if he had no group of his own, he would seek that of an aunt or uncle and be accepted like an own child. (I. 6. D. 2). When ceremonial payments had to be made for him, it was his uncle, quite as often as his father, who provided them, (payment was made for I. 1. A. 1 by a father's younger brother).

When uncle and nephew were not in the same group, a gift-giving relationship was often maintained between them. This depended, apparently on their distance apart and the number of other obligations upon each. A distant uncle might invite his nephews to harvest for him and take a share of the produce (I. 1. I; I. 1. A. 2) or he might visit periodically, bringing gifts. (I. 1. I)

Aunts usually lived at a distance, since they were expected to marry into another village, but there were many exceptions. A mother's younger sister was often the father's co-wife and treated very like the mother. Any sister of the father's might have returned to use the ancestral land and then would be an intimate member of the group, taking almost as much responsibility for the girl as did her mother. When cooked food was distributed, a child might make daily trips to the aunt's house with a food bowl, receiving gifts and instruction (I. 1. A. 4; I 8. E. 7).

867 Aunts admonished their nieces and nephews much as uncles did. Just as ritual points to the senior paternal uncle as a ceremonial godfather, so the senior paternal aunt is a godmother. However, the office is not legendary but was in use a short time ago at the time of a girl's puberty. At this period, a girl was secluded for four days in the company of an older woman who trained her in industry and lectured her on the duties of marriage. The oldest informant, though she knew of no rule for the selection of this woman, remembered that the person chosen was her senior paternal aunt (26).

As with the uncles, even a distant aunt or one younger than oneself was entitled to respect. "Lupa, older than I, is my distant niece. At a fiesta, she always comes to speak to me, knowing it is not my place to speak to her" (32).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

GRANDPARENT CLASS. The four words for grandparent indicate an equal importance in all four individuals, subject to the determining factor of propinquity. The grandparents in the male line were normally the leaders and teachers of the whole family group, parents and children alike. The young parents were often away from home, on the active tasks of food getting and it was the grandparents who trained the children in crafts and in moral behavior. A Papago, in looking back on his early education, thinks not of his father but of his grandfather. The loss which would disrupt his home in early life would be that of grandparents, not parents.

The grandfather, in particular, was the moral mentor, talking to the children nightly and waking them before dawn with homilies on virtue and industry. It was he who recited the myths in the proper season and, if there was ritual knowledge to be passed down in the family, he often selected the grandson to receive it.

As the grandfather grew older, he benignantly abdicated his post of family head and the most energetic of his sons managed the family business. The grandfather now became the constant companion of the children and even at present, it is he who normally sits holding the baby while the younger members of the family are at work. When he grew older still, it was the grandchildren who waited on him while the parents did harder tasks. In rare cases where a grandfather happened not to live with the family group, children were detailed to stay with him.

Informant 23 lived in a village from which all his sons had moved away. When he grew too old to work his fields his grandsons in the male line were already grown and married. He rode to his daughter's house and asked for a boy to live with him. "She and her husband didn't say anything. They just told the boy: Get your things and go with your grandfather." Informant 43 was sent regularly during the dry season to live with her paternal grandfather's sister and fetch water for her from the spring a mile away.

The paternal grandmother directed the women of the home group, as the grandfather directed the men. Little girls generally slept on a mat with her and it was she who taught them cooking and basketry while their mothers were out food gathering. She cared for the children while their mother was in the segregation hut, at menstrual periods and childbirth. Moreover, a young father was sure to undergo several periods of ceremonial purification, during which his wife was secluded also. Then the grandmother cooked for the children, instructed them in behavior and gave them their ritual baths. She remained in the home group until her death and if, her husband died first, would be taken into the family of one of her sons where she would continue her duties (I. 5. B. 1; I. 1. A. 3).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In spite of their freedom as children, young people were expected, as they grew up, to be extremely modest and retiring. Girls, after the age of ten, hardly spoke to a man unless he were a relative and then only to offer him food. If a stranger approached the house, they ran out and hid. Since the women did most of their work in large groups, a girl was always completely surrounded and protected. 882

Boys also were expected to be retiring. As has been mentioned, they did not speak in the meeting until they were mature men: their part was to do the work in silence. No young man ever interrupted an elder. The following typical conversation took place with a young interpreter who had been asked to question an old informant: "Did you ask him (the informant) thus and so?" "I tried to, but he wanted to talk about something else." In such a situation the young man, though paid to ask questions, was powerless.

The writer has several times been told by Papagos, apropos of working for the Whites: "But our young men cannot go out and approach people as yours do. They are taught to be bashful."

Young people were ceaselessly trained in the moral code (see p. 80), whose principal tenets were industry, fortitude and swiftness of foot. Industry was a woman's virtue, without which no girl could hope to be kept as a wife. Fortitude was a virtue of both sexes and Papago life, which was so frequently on the verge of starvation, brought it to the foreground. The augury on all auspicious occasions was: "You will be hunger-enduring, thirst-enduring, cold-enduring." A man undergoing purification for any reason, voluntarily endured these three hardships and boys were urged to practise them regularly on the Spartan principle that one who was slightly hungry and thirsty all the time would not feel the privation in a crisis. There seems no doubt that the Papago were brave in battle, but aggressive courage is never praised in their poetry. All the emotion is called forth on the theme of enduring hardship. 867 577

Speed in running might almost be called the root of all virtue. The life of these nomads in flat, open desert country was based on covering long distances. Women were taught to run with the carrying basket, men ran on the hunt and on the warpath. A young man who could not run was nearly useless. Therefore, running came to mean in Papago parlance the mark of an admirable man and the thing which drew to him the attention of the supernaturals. The following admonition by a father to his sons is on this theme: 868 481

"Listen well to this talk. To all of it listen! Look well at my mouth. Keep looking and you will learn. Thus I say to you, that this night, while darkness covers us, you are not to sleep early in the evening. You are to listen to me.

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868 481 Perhaps some time in the night, something will arrive. Then if you are a good runner, you will jump up, you will run (after it). Early in the morning you will get up. Far over there (down to the west) you will sit and will listen for something. You will run over there and something which is good-luck-bringing will meet you: a coyote, an eagle, a hawk. Then you will be a fast runner. You will be a good hunter.

You should run constantly, no matter how much hardship it means; even if you are thirsty, hungry, tired. Then truly this will happen to you. You will throw yourself down repeatedly (worn out). Then there will come a hawk, an eagle, a mountain lion, a jaguar, a bear, and will tell you how to follow something alive (game) and to kill it.

Then when you come back after much running, they will put before you the clay dish. Then you will merely sit and look at it. Even perchance it will speak thus to you, "Go to! Eat me!" Do not eat it until a scum has formed on it. If you eat it before a scum has formed, you will have wrinkles. If you eat but a little, you will be a lean man. You will be light. You will be a fast runner. If you eat much, you will be fat. You will be much wrinkled; you will not be a runner." (1)

[171] This short sermon, delivered by a parent, was a regular pattern with the Papagos and recalls the admonitions delivered by the Aztecs to their children, as reported in Sahagun.[1]

•867 There was no rigid form of words for such talks but, as in the speech at the men's meeting, the moral code must be gone over and over until, in modern phraseology, the youth's reactions were fully conditioned. The father was generally the speaker, though the mother might take her turn, especially with the girls. The time chosen was when the family were all lying in the dark on their sleeping mats, sometimes at night, more often in the hour before dawn. There was a special method of speaking: a low, insistent monotone. As one informant said, "You thought you were still asleep. You thought you were hearing that voice in your dreams" (26). As the writer has heard these speeches recited, they have an effect which is almost hypnotic.

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them. Wake up and listen.

You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men that they may fight the enemy. You should practise running. So in time of war you may save your lives. Wake up. Do not be idle." (26)

[1] Sahagun, F p. 384—390.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"I can never forget what my father told me," various informants have stated. "I heard it every morning, even before I was old enough to understand." "I was little," said one (26), "and I would go to sleep. Then my father would pinch my ear. 'Wake up and listen. Let my words enter your ears and your head'."

This constant, though unaggressive, repetition of the principles of living must have had, as did the speeches at the council meeting the effect of producing a unity of sentiment in the community as profound as it was unconscious.

GIRLS' PUBERTY AND MENSTRUATION

The puberty of boys was not signalized. For girls, the puberty ceremony centered on obviating the malignant effects of menstruation and, secondarily, on making the girl industrious for the rest of her life.

Menstruation was regarded with horror. The touch of a menstruating woman could weaken a man and take all power from his weapons. The taint of it would cause the deer to avoid a hunter, cause a shaman's crystals to rot and tobacco plants to shrivel up. Therefore, for a menstruating women not to segregate herself was a crime against the community. Men were urged nightly in the council meeting to see that their women obeyed the rule. The punishment for disobedience was usually a supernatural one: lightning or flood would destroy the family of the offender or, possibly, her whole village.

First menstruation was particularly malignant. For announcing it, for having the girl ritually cleansed, and for instructing her as to her future responsibility in the matter, the father and mother were held responsible. In old days a father could be whipped for laxity in this respect, or the mother, if the father could prove ignorance. Mothers watched their girls very closely and at the appearance of first menstruation, the girl was sent to the regular segregation hut. Here she stayed four days. She was given a new pottery bowl and a drinking cup, into which women poured the food which they brought her from the house; she was allowed no meat or salt; she was given a scratching stick and must not touch her hair on pain of losing it.

Generally an older woman relative was appointed as the girl's instructress, though if the family were away camping, the mother would serve. The idea was that if the girl practised industry and alertness at this time, she would have those virtues for the rest of her life. She was waked very early in the morning and taken to fetch water and wood, a Papago woman's chief duties. She might

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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In love, she again showed independence. For a shaman to have more than one wife was standard custom but Chona resented her co-wife. She felt "unnaturally" and against all precedent the same emotions that a White woman is expected to feel "naturally" in such a circumstance. The result was a minor rebellion, soon settled. Chona's life, on the whole, presents a fair picture of the crises which come to a Papago woman, heightened by a dynamic personality.

I

We lived at Mesquite Root and my father was chief there. That was a good place, high up among the hills, but flat, with a little wash where you could plant corn. Prickly pear grew there so thick that in summer, when you picked the fruit, it was only four steps from one bush to the next. And cholla cactus grew and there were ironwood trees. Good nuts they have! There were birds flying around, doves and woodpeckers, and a big rabbit sometimes in the early morning, and quails running across the flat land. Right above us was Quijotoa Mountain, the one where the cloud stands up high and white when we sing for rain.

We lived in a grass house and our relatives, all around us on the smooth flat land, had houses that were the same. Round our houses were, with no smoke hole and just a little door where you crawled in on hands and knees. That was good. The smoke could go out anywhere through the thatch and the air could come in. All our family slept on cactus fibre mats against the wall, pushed tight against it so centipedes and scorpions could not crawl in. There was a mat for each two children, but no, nothing over us. When we were cold, we put wood on the fire.

Early in the morning, in the month of Pleasant Cold, when we had all slept in the house to keep warm, we would wake in the dark to hear my father speaking.

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake up and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them." He spoke in a low voice, so quiet in the dark. Always our fathers spoke to us like that, so low that you thought you were dreaming.

"Wake up and listen. You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men and they will fight the enemy. You should practise running. So, in time of war, you may save your lives."

For a long time my father talked to us like that, for he began when it was black dark. I went to sleep, and then he pinched my ear. "Wake up! Do not be idle!"

Then we got up. It was the time we call morning-stands-up, when it is

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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he made a noise like an owl: hm. The fifth time, he took up the bowl of clay and stirred it around with a little owl feather that was standing in the center of it. Then he put the clay to my mouth. "Drink this up!" So I drank it all.

Then he marked me, the sacred marks that are put on the men who have got salt from the magic ocean; the marks that take away bad luck and bring you a good life. On my breast, on my shoulders, my back, and my belly.

"Your name shall be cha-veela." I did not know before what name he was going to give me; neither did my parents. The medicine man names one from his dreams. Some of my friends had names that could be understood like Leaf Buds, Rustling Leaves, Windy Rainbow, Dawn Murmur. But I have never understood my name and he did not tell me.

After all that work, I did not menstruate again for a year!

VI

My father said to me: "Look, my girl. We are going to marry you, over at that house."

He did not say the boy's name out of modesty, just motioned with his lips eastward down the valley. The place he meant was Where the Water Whirls Around, where I went with my clay jars every time our pond went dry. I knew every house there and the people in them. I knew who the marriageable young man was. It was the medicine man's son. I had never spoken to him; I had never spoken to any young men except relatives and of course we do not marry relatives. But my breasts were getting large, now. That is how we know when a girl should marry. "They ought to be used for something," we say.

So my father and mother had been consulting. It must have been when I was asleep at night for I had not heard them. They had decided on a man to ask and then my father had sent my mother to tell my aunts and uncles about it. They all approved. They had not told the boy yet. That is done last of all. But of course no man would refuse, even if he already had a first wife. It would not be polite.

My father went on talking to me in a low voice. That is how our people always talk to their children, so low and quiet the child thinks he is dreaming it. But he never forgets.

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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your home there. It has been here, but now you belong there. Stay home, don't run around. Do your work, carry the wood, cook something, whatever there is. Any work you see, you do it. 159* 584 869

"Don't go off to people's houses and walk around and gossip. Gossip may spoil a good home. That husband of yours, listen to him. Don't talk when he's talking, for he is like a chief to you. Don't beg him to take you with him here and there, but if he wants you to go, go whether you feel like it or not. Don't one day get mad at your mother-in-law or father-in-law. Don't think you can get mad and run home. A day will come when your husband will want to visit us and will bring you. Now that's your home and if good luck is with you, you will grow old and die there. This is the way it is. Now I'm going over to tell the boy's father and mother."

So my father went to those peoples' house, down Where the Water Whirls Around. 159* 584

"Your son is industrious and I have an industrious daughter. Shall we marry them?"

No one can say anything but yes to such a question. If they really thought the girl was lazy and bad, they would try to be away from home. But they were very distant relatives and, of course, someone had told them what was being talked about. They said: "Very well."

My father told them: "I'm going to see that my daughter behaves herself. You watch her, too, and make sure that she follows my training." They said: "That is what we feel about our son. We have talked to him long enough; he should know his duty. See that he follows it and so will we."

So they sent the boy to our house so that in my first nights with a man I could have my mother near. Before he came, my mother said: "If he wants anything, don't be afraid of him. That's why we are having you marry." 159* 585

But I was very much afraid. I did not go and hide in the granary basket, the way one of my friends did. That was Rustling Leaves, but she was being married to an old medicine man who had her three sisters as wives already. My husband was a boy, not much older than I and he had no other wives. Only, when I thought of him, fear ran through me like a snake. He used to come to our house after dark, because it would not be modest for him to sit and eat with our family by daylight. And when morning stood up he went away. That's how I was married.

When he had been at our house four nights, it was time for me to go home and live with him. He left our house at dawn from modesty, and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present. But I took nothing. I

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

Like many other Indians, the Papago are a young people. About 40 per cent of those living on the three reservations in 1942 were under eighteen years of age. The average age of males was twenty-three years and, of females twenty-one.[3]

Costumes are not so colorful as those of some Arizona and New Mexico tribes such as the Navaho. Most of the older women wear the ankle-length Mother Hubbard cotton dress with loose blouse used by many older Indian and Mexican women in the Southwest and in Sonora. With this they wear a shawl or *rebozo* usually wrapped tightly around the head with an end hanging down the back, rather than loosely draped and allowed to fall over the shoulders. Younger women and girls wear cotton or rayon dresses in contemporary American style. Fiesta dresses are more colorful, and one occasionally sees the brilliant rayons which added splashes of color to gatherings in former years. Males from the age of one to one hundred wear denim or khaki pants with shirts of cotton for work and bright rayon for festive occasions, kerchiefs about the neck, with brimmed felt hats, and cowboy boots if they can possibly afford them. Some of the educated men have American-style "business suits" for trips off the Reservation. Good clothes, particularly shoes, are bought when there is cash on hand, and a man may spend considerable sums on hats and boots. Even in the conservative western districts of the Reservation, the people buy American clothing, often quite "fancy," for the children and young people. Papago believe clothing should be neat, clean, and modest but not necessarily sober; they all want to "look nice" before other people.

Typically the Papago move with a slow dignity and grace, and only in near-emergency situations does the word "hurry" have any meaning for them. A rider who runs his horse when he is not roping or running cattle is almost certain to elicit the comment, "Oh, he's drunk."

From early childhood the Papago is taught to be quiet, self-contained, and not to become angry. A reserved person whose equanimity is difficult to shake, he expresses opposition or resentment quietly, for he believes in discussion without argument and angry words. He does not ask direct questions or make statements directly; a question is asked through a circumlocution, and answers are given in the same manner. To white people it sometimes sounds like speech in parables, but to a Papago the meaning is perfectly clear. The curiosity of white people often causes difficulty between them and the Indians. Questioning about unimportant things the Papago regard as rather humorous, but queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste.

3. Population data from United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Indian Reservations, Arizona*; see also chaps. v and vii below.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

pate in the village council. The rare occasions when a woman does contest an issue with men are the subject of comment by both sexes: "And she was telling them what should be done, and she a woman, telling men! How could she know about it? It is the men who know those things." 562

Yet women are not relegated to an inferior position; they are never ordered about and are never servile toward men. The attitude of both sexes is simply that their duties and spheres of authority and influence are different. It is possible that this pattern is changing and that women will come to have more status in spheres now dominated by men. Increasingly women are working outside the home and so are becoming financially more independent of men. The tribal constitution does not disqualify women as voters, but no woman voted in the election by which it was approved. There are no positive prohibitions upon women's participation in political matters, but they have shown no interest in politics, although Papago society is sufficiently elastic to allow it. So far, however, the old customs hold, and the spheres of men and women have not converged to the same extent as in white society in the United States. 562 642

One other practice with regard to women should be mentioned. In the old days menstruating women were greatly feared. Their touch was thought to weaken a man and blight any project in which he was engaged. Women were obliged to segregate themselves each month in a hut built for the purpose, on pain of bringing supernatural punishment upon their families or on the whole village.[7] Segregation is not the rule in most parts of the Reservation today, but in some of the more conservative families it is still practiced. 841

In both the household and the village, approval of the group is the primary inducement to conformity with the patterns indicated above. Moral discussions and tales told by the older family members make clear to everyone that he is expected to fulfil his economic obligations to the family and to comply with the customs of the household. The person who fails to conform to these standards is made aware of the disapproval of others by criticism, ridicule, or denial of privileges. A big child who tries to sit on an aunt's lap is gently laughed or teased out of the notion. Involuntary exposure of the genitals brings ridicule by brothers and sisters until the child develops an acute sense of modesty. Quarrelsome children lose treasured privileges. Both young and old are sternly lectured by the eldest members of the household if they do not abide by its patterns. The same sanctions are applied by persons outside the family group. "People will talk" is an ever present and powerful inducement to live up to 626 867 626

7. A tale is told of a woman in a segregation hut who saw the approach of Apache raiders but who was so strongly imbued with the taboo that she would not leave her hut to warn the village.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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ably have a relaxing quality, and the baby may be soothed by the monotony of the rattles. The loving attention of his mother or father always by his side, the friendly or even gay talk of all adults present, and the painless treatment of the shaman produce an atmosphere of reassurance. Children are never afraid to go to the medicine man.

Having a small baby seldom keeps a Papago mother at home. She bundles her baby up and takes him with her to every fiesta, where she sits on the sidelines, chats with other young mothers, and watches the dancers. Possibly she takes the child to the home of friends in the village. At night the mother carries him into the church; while she sits on the floor and joins the other women in singing and praying, the baby, rolled in a blanket, lies on the floor beside other sleeping children.

By the time he is two and a half years old, the Papago child loves the color and excitement of the fiesta, where he meets and plays with his small cousins from othe. villages. He is allowed to run around the dance ground under the watchful eye of his mother, grandmother, or aunt, and one of his sisters may dance with him or teach him to dance with another small child of the opposite sex.

During the fiesta the small child learns of a new danger. He finds that men, perhaps his father and uncles, at times, behave strangely. His female relatives snatch him out of the way and whisper, "Drunk!" in the same tone they use to warn him of ghosts. He learns to run away when drunks lurch near him and to ignore them completely when they accost him; sometimes he witnesses brawls or other violence. By the time he is five, he has probably developed a strong fear of drunkenness, but he views it as something to be expected at a fiesta. He is unconcerned with it as a moral issue. That concern, as discussed in Part III of this study, will come later.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter IX

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

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WHEN he is about to enter the second period of childhood, from five through ten years—or earlier if a new baby has already arrived—the child is exposed to a second guiding principle in Papago relationships: authority is rightfully in the hands of those who claim age seniority. This is not a formality that begins or ends with the rule of a few ancient persons. It is an active everyday principle that applies to Papago of all ages after babyhood, even in the most casual relationships.

The very young child is not much concerned with seniority, for in his case it is outweighed by indulgence. (He may, of course, have noticed the authority of adults over children older than himself.) But, when he reaches the age of five, he becomes a working part of the system wherein the supervisory role is determined by relative age; adults and older children have authority over him; he in turn has authority over his juniors.

Yet his control is not complete, for the principle of indulgence comes into play, and the younger child must be gratified before himself; jurisdiction over his juniors is limited by his ability to make it pleasurable to them. He must learn to be benefactor, where previously he was only beneficiary.

The role of benefactor is not invariably a happy one, and sooner or later the child tries to force his will upon his junior. The little one demands adult intervention and gets it. Then the older child finds himself in the middle of a conflict involving three persons. He learns that the adult will indulge the younger child at his expense and that rebuke comes swiftly indeed if he is suspected of misusing the power of his seniority.

Thus when still very young the Papago child learns two simple rules of behavior which will guide him throughout life: authority goes with age; authority must not be abused.

It should not be thought, however, that the child is constantly being frustrated. True, babies must be indulged, even at his expense. But the five-to-ten-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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year-old can also claim indulgence as a young child, and, though older children and adults have control over him, they are obliged to please him so far as is compatible with the general welfare of the household.

Use here of the words "rule" and "principle" in describing authority among the Papago does not imply a rigid set of laws which the child must learn as he learns that two and two make four; the child is not taught proper behavior by having authority explained to him. He is occasionally reminded that a baby must always be satisfied and that children must always mind their elders, but the child learns chiefly by observation and imitation how to make his control over younger children palatable and how to appeal to adults when older children frustrate him.

Certain ideals of Papago behavior are, however, made explicit for the benefit of children. In the evening when the family is gathered together, the grandfather or other adult speaks often and at length on the virtues of industry, honesty, and kindness. In this desert land, where everyone must work together in order to live, an important part of child-training is the emphasis on working hard and on getting along well with other people. Boys and girls are constantly warned to avoid squabbles, and quarreling children are separated and roundly scolded. Adults say, "We tell them to be kind to people and not to quarrel." To the Papago kindness appears to mean the antithesis of quarrelsomeness. It is tolerance, good nature, and respect for other people's rights rather than active benevolence. To instil these desirable qualities, the elders moralize at length, for extensive oral argument is a recognized and conscious method of child-training in this age period and the next.

LEARNING TO BE WORKERS

Most Papago children begin to share in the work of the family about the time they enter the five-to-ten age group. As noted in the previous chapter, a young girl's play group may be charged with care of the baby while his mother is busy with other tasks. A little girl may be sent to fetch things needed from the house or storeroom for the women working under the ramada. She may bring water from the *charco* or pump and wood from the woodpile, and at this time she learns a few housekeeping chores—sweeping, rolling up bedding for the day, washing dishes, setting the table. An unusually capable girl may begin to assist with cooking or laundry by the time she is ten.

Boys in this age group are much more free to do as they please, particularly if they have sisters to help with the household chores. They seldom help with the smaller children unless no female is available, and, though they run errands, fetch water, and chop wood, little else is asked of them. Loitering about the

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

Shortly after the little girls start the dancing (imitative ballroom style), the adolescent girls begin. They dance together in the afternoon, for it is not until evening that boys and men join the group. Then all through the night and perhaps until noon the next day, the girls dance—usually with boys their own age, sometimes with men, otherwise with each other. Only the youngest of the adolescents—the girls of eleven and twelve—do not dance with males. Etiquette requires that the man come over to the bench where the girl is sitting to ask her to dance. He does not choose a partner until the music starts, hence there is no opportunity for conversation between dances. When boy and girl dance together, they do not talk or laugh; both are silent and completely serious. The instant the music stops, they break the embrace and go rapidly to opposite sides of the dance ground. There is little other opportunity for social intercourse between them at the dances, and girls are not supposed to leave the lighted area of the fiesta ground except to go into church infrequently to rest.

THE BOY GROWS UP

No ceremony marks the puberty of a boy, but just as certainly as the girl he is oriented toward the world of adults. When he is about eleven years old, a boy begins helping the men of the household. He learns to plow, plant, hoe, and harvest crops; to herd, rope, and brand cattle in the co-operative roundups; to care for horses, build fences, and repair buildings. Gradually, as his strength and skill increase, he learns to do a man's full share of work. No longer does he merely do odd jobs assigned him at intervals; whenever he is not at school, he is expected to help with the work at hand until it is finished.

From this time on his leisure at home as well as his working hours will be spent mostly with the men of the household. Occasionally the teen-age boy will handle a small child or try to get him to walk or talk, and once in a while he may condescend to join his younger brothers in a game of marbles. Away from home older boys as well as girls show considerable concern for their younger siblings' welfare and proper conduct, but in the family group the adolescent boy is definitely associated with the men; he sits and talks with them while his younger brothers dash about the yard. If the family includes a man in his early twenties, the youth will probably be on intimate terms with him.[1] He is now closer to his father than at any time since babyhood, for his father teaches him and works side by side with him. Like all the men, the boy has great respect for his grandfather and works under his direction. It is the grandfather who talks about proper conduct, teaching the lad that a good Papago is honest and industrious and lives at peace with his fellow-men.

1. This relationship is comparable in many respects with that of five-to-ten-year-old girls with young women of the households (see chap. ix).

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177 Negros who have absorbed more Anglo-American culture and are therefore less subservient.

SKILLED FARM WORKERS

464 The more skilled Papago farm laborers will be least affected by mechanization in the cotton fields. There is no foreseeable way of mechanizing the process of irrigation in the immediate future (although it could be done!), so demand for Papago irrigators will continue. And they are good irrigators when experienced. As one cotton growers remarked only half-jokingly, "The Papagos are the only people I know who can make water run uphill!"

464 Another quality in the Desert People that makes
466 them attractive to Anglo farmers is their psuedo-subser-
156 vience. Employers say an Indian will never argue with you; he'll do a task your way, but if he doesn't like it he just leaves. Anglo farmers seem to prefer this kind of action to arguments and recriminations from workers of their own group, or Negros or Mexican-Americans. It arises from the deepest wells of Papago personality.
[183] "In addition to belief in magical and supernatural forces, the main behavior requirements for smooth functioning of the Old Papago society were work, co-operation,
[867] and avoidance of aggression."[1] These ideas drilled into the Papago child from infancy make the Papago adult a nearly ideal employee from the Anglo point of view.

464 Advantages of behavior the Desert People have in
466 finding farm jobs in southern Arizona are somewhat off-
[191] set by their relatively poor understanding and command
[213] of the English language, and the high incidence of drunkenness among the men. However, the most serious disadvantage the Desert People will labor under when cotton cultivation and harvesting reaches full mechanization will be lack of skills.

464 Of course, irrigators and general farm handy men who clean ditches, feed cattle or poultry, mend fences, and perform simple tasks on hay balers and other machines will still be hired. But their pay will be relatively low compared to tractor operators, especially machine picker drivers, and other skilled men. Papago farm workers have little opportunity to learn these skills, and mechanization may sweep the cotton fields leaving them all performing lowlier tasks.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 211.